/945 cont./

Emilia, the young Halakwulup girl Julia as [illegible] beside her sponsor Luisa who was the wife of Walter, and finally, beside Walter, his own son Walter H (Fig. 83).

Every adult is bound by the general and strict Talanga rule to be as quiet as possible. /Fig. 83 appears here./ Loud conversation is not at all tolerated, and all communication is carried on in a muted whisper. No one may move in such a way that he disturbs others. Everyone conducts himself in all his actions as inconspicuously as possible. The older people,

Fig. 83. Seating Arrangement at the Youth Initiation, 1952.

naturally, sit very quietly. Younger men who have not developed as much self-control must sometimes force themselves not to offend against the rule for general quiet. We shall speak more of this in connection with the daily program.

This brief reference was necessary here, since the individual participants gather beforehand in the Green Hut and prepare themselves for the actual start of the rite by prolonged meditation. One after another they approach the Talanga but very quietly and inconspicuously. It is not customary for two or three to go together and talk on the way. Everyone goes the short distance by himself, without accompaniment, and begins, even outside, to shake off all distraction. He paces gently into the entrance, looks around briefly, and chooses a convenient place which he will occupy the entire time. /Ref/ He squats down, places his few requisite behind him or sticks them into the hut framework above his back, and gives himself up to his thoughts in deepest silence. It does not

1: Gestalde--693 6-6 (1919-1924) 1937 SHR Telegram SH6



manner whether he is occupied only with himself for two or five hours before the start of the ceremony, for he does not miss anything. Even during the final work on the Great Hut one can observe the deep seriousness and thoughtfulness written on the faces of the participants who do not converse with one another or act distracted. They feel, and they do not conceal their innermost feelings, that something important is imminent and they must also prepare themselves spiritually. Each participant regards the Dance rite as an extraordinary personal experience.

On March 3, 1922, teenage announced shortly before noon that the ceremony would begin in the evening. A few older persons who had put the finishing touches on the Great Hut simply remained seated there and gave themselves up to their thoughts. Around two o'clock in the afternoon their number had increased to seven. Kappen (x)-40 stopped in for a few minutes at this time and quietly asked one of those present why they had come so early since the celebration was not beginning until toward evening. The answer he received was: "Certainly, but one can't begin such a beautiful festival just like that; one has to be in the mood, and we are here to prepare ourselves for that!" I observed the same conduct two years before. The older people wish above all to prepare themselves spiritually for this celebration by several hours of concentration.

The overseer is always among the first arrivals; the leader, too, comes in good time. Their mood has a decisive influence on the other people. Meanwhile everyone paints his forehead decoration. This is nothing more than a piece of skin, two to four fingers wide and about 30 centimeters long. It is cut out of the perineum of the small albatross, Diomedea melanophrys, or of the male Molina goose, Bizza (Chloephaga hybrida). The large feathers are plucked out and the down feathers fluffed up somewhat so that they appear abundant. The other end of this strip of skin the Tsetsete knot a short tassle. Every participant wears this headpiece as a headband. If he leaves the Great Hut, he must take it off. Sometimes this strip of skin is given a triangular shape, so that a small point appears in the middle of the forehead, but it is not nearly as wide as the band of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, Ill.).

/922 cont./
of meat in both fists and tore off great hunks with her teeth, hastily swallowing them. The other pieces that she tore off were thrown into the fire. She made a slight motion with her head and Gertie and Emilia stepped in front of her. Holding the larger piece of meat between her teeth, she let both of them tear off a scrap with their own teeth. Very much stirred, all three danced through the ξíɣaxan hut, showing the pieces of meat held between their teeth. With a fixed gaze they stared in the direction in which they moved. Their frantic behavior continued until, tired out, they sought their places. The Yamana explain such an exhibition by saying that a great enthusiasm has suddenly filled the person, that "his kétpif seizes him!"

It is not a fixed rule but it is customary to conclude the evening singing and dancing almost always with the ú̯ser song, the so-called song of the yékamuf. It is begun by some person who gets up and strides through the entire room dancing. At the same time he holds his dance staff horizontally in front of him, a sign that he is asking for something. He is given pieces of meat, berries, or fungi, which he joyfully accepts, dances contentedly through the hut, and gives some of these things to other persons. He keeps a small portion for himself and eats it, as do the others, with visible satisfaction. All the people present accompany the song with a forward, rolling motion of the right arm alone, or they hold the dance staff horizontally with both hands and roll it forward and upward. The singing and body movements increase until they become lively, for with this the entire performance is supposed to end for this time. Thus the ú̯ser song is a farewell to the day, a genuine evening song. It is also intended as an accompaniment for the "spirits" on their way home, for they, too, withdraw after their long stay here on this day. The arm movements, with or without the staff, are supposed to indicate the work of rowing as one glides over the waves. Since the ú̯ser song is also intoned at the end of the entire ξíɣaxan celebration, these arm movements are meant to indicate the departure by boat of the many participants who now scatter in all directions.

The particular purpose of the ú̯ser song is "to attend to the spirits who have come from afar to the ξíɣaxan gathering, to calm them down after their lively participation and make them

1: Gontade--798 E-S (1919-1926) 1937 G98 Tahgan S98

/922 cont./

X881 S33 T81 return, or rather, find their way back to where they belong." In referring to these "spirits" our Yamana mean in particular the memory-pictures and fantasies which take tangible form in their vivid imagination, with whom they associate in their thoughts and also converse in audible words. In the *ɨ́ɨnaxa* they feel they are in /923/ another state of mind and believe themselves to be in another world in which their imaginings appear to them as real persons. From this other imaginary world they first of all dismiss the "spirits" who have appeared and who are now returning to their own abode. After that they themselves turn back to their own everyday world by shaking off the extraordinary *ɨ́ɨnaxa* state of mind. That is why, at the conclusion of the *ɨ́ɨnaxa* song, everyone present summons back "his own spirit" by making a wide sweeping movement with his arm and pulling it back again quickly, at the same time closing his outstretched hand in a tight fist. This means, in other words, that everyone now returns from the enthusiasm or ecstasy brought on by the singing to an everyday, calm frame of mind. In reality, therefore, the words of the Yamana about the various *kíɨpil* assembled in the *ɨ́ɨnaxa* but do not refer to personified spirits but to a simple change of mood or a transfer from a world of very lively imagery to the pensionless, prosaic activity of the mind.

X881 S33 S35 After the almost motionless squatting during the greater part of the day everyone regards the physical exertion of dancing and group singing as a boon. There must be such variety and it is regularly granted the *ɨ́ɨwɨ́ɨle* also. It is appropriately put at the end of the day, and directly after that the leader gives the signal for the night's rest (p. 782). Everyone sticks his dance staff upright into the ground, hangs his *kapaxti* on the wall of the hut, and settles down to sleep. Now it is quiet again in the Great Hut and only one or two low voices continue the uninterrupted singing.

X881 S32 3. Memories of the Deceased. Let it be briefly repeated that everyone present paints himself expressly for these evening dances (p. 788). Formerly the women more than the men drew a great many patterns of red, white, and black lines in dots and circles all over their bodies; nowadays they are content to paint their faces, arms, and legs. Only a few women still paint the upper part of the body (p. 788). The facial painting of the *ɨ́ɨwɨ́ɨle* is, of course, renewed in the evening.

1: Gontds--977 E-6 (1910-1954) 1957 9098 Tafagan 9098

/1554 cont./

111 occasion of a death cannot be regarded as a religious ceremony since this is held primarily because of grief over the loss of a dear relative. The religious heritage of our Indians is never seen by a European visitor, and that alone explains the agreement of all the travelers and missionaries who depicted them as absolutely irreligious (13).

> 13. I often spoke freely with the older men and women about the services and the religious functions to which in earlier days, as children and young people, they were invited with a certain regularity by the missionaries in and outside of the mission stations. Each time I had the impression that it was completely incomprehensible to them how one could please the deity by a public appearance and in an assemblage of many persons. It is much more in keeping with their own frame of mind for an individual to face the Supreme Being by himself and to settle with him alone whatever he has on his mind.

• 77 776 626 One could probably describe as religious activity in its wider sense the firmly established, equable mental attitude of deep veneration toward /1555/ Wotaxinéwa that the individual maintains. Not everyone is always conscious of it, but in some way it has a decisive influence on him to move along certain paths and to be led by universally valid principles. In its effect within the religious sphere this veneration is comparable to what a conscience is in the field of moral obligations, namely, a sort of intimacy by which the individual person is led. This mental attitude is the reason for the unchanging acquiescence of the Fuegian to the demands of the moral law. He submits to it without contradiction, although he cannot explain it in any other way than by repeating the well-known saying: "Wotaxinéwa sees everything. -- He wants everyone to conduct himself in the way that has always been customary among us Yamana!" For him the rule of conduct lies in this and similar words, and that is why it has not changed through successive generations. It is true that the fear of punishment

/1056 cont./

TH 776 636 often protects this or that person from injury, but it is really because of the ancient tradition itself that they adhere to its demands. No one would ever complain of the tight bonds imposed on free action. On the contrary, the customs of the old people are everywhere highly respected, because ultimately Watauineiwa appears as the guardian of public order.

TH 776 195 Inasmuch as he must be approached with piety, no one dares repeat his name without a special reason, much less hold it in contempt. If the Supreme Being is mentioned, the Yamana shows decided piety and a certain solemnity in his whole outward bearing when he speaks his name, thus giving the spoken word a marked note of consecration. The various names applied to the deity are never thoughtlessly uttered. Another sign of pious respect is the use of circumlocutions. These are used most often when in the course of a ceremony of mourning an excited person struggles with Manaudain, "the sole mighty one." It is as though he wanted to dampen his improper conduct, as though he would not turn immediately and directly to the familiar deity. The habitual respectful attitude of the Yamana toward the person of the Supreme Being himself forces them, so to speak, to the greatest possible fidelity to tribal custom, particularly the moral obligations, and does not let the thought of contradiction or renunciation arise.

## β. Prayers of Supplication

782 [TH] The Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 510) are exactly alike concerning the form and distinctive character of their religious veneration, but they are /1056/ conspicuously different in the use of prayers and invocations to their deity. Whereas the Selk'nam dedicate to their Temaukel a few more or less freely chosen words only on rare occasions (Vol. I, 510), our Fuegians have at their disposal a long list of established prayer formulas which everyone uses according to the given circumstances. They have adhered to them so strictly that they still repeat them even today, although individual words and expressions are no longer used in daily life and have even become incomprehensible; only the general sense of the whole formula has been preserved.

/1079 cont./

111 before, all this was always known to our own ancestors. So we
191 don't need his 'Our Lord'! Our Watayinéiwa is enough for us, and
177 what he has told us suffices. I always realized that, each time Lawrence spoke of his 'Our Lord.'" As was proved by my questions, Mary actually adopted nothing from Christianity. The attitude of Nelly Lawrence is even more convincing. As the daughter-in-law of this missionary, she lived in the same house with him for several years and was in daily contact with this deeply religious man. After I became acquainted with Watayinéiwa through her efforts, she no longer hesitated to refer to him. She plainly showed me how pleased she was that I, too, sincerely enjoyed her religious views. Not for that reason alone, however, but out of innermost conviction she confessed to me that the traditional Watayinéiwa faith was perfectly adequate for her and that she felt no desire for the thing John Lawrence so often mentioned about his "Lord" /cited in English/. "Everything that the Yamana tell about our Watayinéiwa is incomparably more beautiful!" She repeated this conviction to me several times with proud self-confidence. In the general register of baptisms there is no mention that she was baptized /1080/ (p. 321 /untranslated/), and I never discovered any traces of Christian faith in her, but in her ideas about Hádabun she felt happy and content; hers was really a deeply religious nature.

178 For the Yamana their Supreme Being is certainly no super-
181 natural figure passively hidden beyond the stars, but rather some-
one they feel close to. They connect many of the minor details of everyday life with him, and by no means only the startling events. On August 9, 1923, I was in Punta Remolino, sitting at supper with the Lawrence family. Fred had a hired man in his service who came from Chiloé and who was old and quite stupid. Once again he had proved extremely awkward in his work, and Fred's description of it was so vivid that we all had to laugh heartily. Only Nelly remained serious and warned her husband with the following words: "Don't talk disparagingly about that old man. Watayinéiwa doesn't like it at all and will punish you for it. One must not make fun of old people!" Her reprimand to the whole group was so natural and serious that we were dumbfounded and, without demur, stopped laughing.

/1080 cont./

A few days later the Chilean captain of the little cutter "Garibaldi" which belonged to this farm indulged in loud outbursts of rage because of the unfavorable weather situation. Nelly happened to be in my room and I paid no attention to the man outside the house. Before she left she said with grave emphasis: "In the early days we knew nothing of the habit which Europeans introduced of always being discontented with the weather. The Europeans complain: now there is too much wind and now too much rain, now too much snow and now too little sun! We must take the weather as it comes. If a person flies into a rage, it just makes it worse, for Watayinéjwa will become angry and then it will be really bad!" This sounded like warning for me as well.

An old Yamana spent the forenoon looking out in vain for bright sunshine, but he did not lose patience. In reply to my teasing which was meant to irritate him slightly, he said: "It is Hidíbuan who sends the weather, the heavy snow and wind and frost. We can't do anything about it, we must take it as it comes! There is no use scolding loudly about bad weather. That doesn't help a bit; it can only make matters worse simply because Hidíbuan will grow even more angry. It is better not to say anything and not to think anything bad about Hidíbuan who in each case can send us still worse things."

The religious heritage of the Yamana is adequate for the conditions of life allotted to them and for the slight demands which they make upon it. It is in complete harmony with them. They make use of the individual ideas in their world of religious belief quite as a matter of course in their everyday life and at their ceremonious youth initiation, at a general funeral rite, and for hushed individual sorrow, and they apply these conceptions /1081/ naturally and unaffectedly, as is possible only with an indigenous body of ideas. They appreciate their value consciously and unconsciously, and lacking nothing, they feel no necessity to ask for more or to take what the missionaries have offered them. I never heard a word of regret or discontent over the fact that all missionary activity has been suspended.

/1131 cont./

765 essential to the yamalaśemṍna in connection with the Ẽ́ima.
533 The actual mourners spend their time this way in any case.
152 Whenever neighbors and friends enter the hut with their freshly applied painting, they sit down near these mourners and follow their song. The polyphonic group sings in a medley of voices; each one chooses pitch and rhythm, melody, and tone color as he sees fit; he stops and begins anew as it pleases him. Each person's performance, however, is serious and sad, his facial expression shows great mental anguish, and his whole conduct indicates how much he is suffering. Throughout, everyone in a howling voice constantly repeats the same sounds in a monotonous melody, exactly as at the tãlauwaja. The whole company devotes several hours to this collective demonstration of grief; they do not allow even brief general pauses.

765 Each person present occasionally interrupts his groaning and
781 fills in an interval or two with exclamations. These are chiefly
152 words addressed to the Supreme Being. One must remember that on these occasions everyone does not think merely of the recently deceased person -- who perhaps is even of secondary importance to him -- but of those loved ones whom he himself /1132/ lost through a recent death or an earlier one. The memory of them once more stirs him to the depths and makes him sharply feel anew his great loss. His own sorrow tortures him. That is why once again, as on earlier occasions, he confronts Watauinẽ́wa to argue and remonstrate with him, to accuse him and cast aspersion upon him. He angrily hurls heavenward one after another of the ancient cries of lament, although he is well aware of his helplessness against Abã́la up there behind the clouds. His immeasurable pain, so he believes, gives him the right to the ruthless, coarse invectives against that brutal Wẽ́lapanux who can be approached in no other way. These excited conversations with Watauinẽ́wa, as I was emphatically assured, form an important part of the yamalaśemṍna. "Again and again each person must address 'the One-up-there' and must constantly repeat the old sayings!" I was told this several times with emphatic conviction. Thus I had the impression that the individual words were nothing more than a normal outcry and a quarrelsome discussion with the Supreme Being. Through all kinds of adaptations

/1132 cont./

765 781 152 the expression may be used with reference to the recently deceased person, to the speaker himself, to his own deceased relatives and friends, to the Yamana people as a whole. With angry vehemence Gertie repeatedly impressed upon me: "Each one of us must incessantly and emphatically come to terms with Watayinéiwa on this occasion!" Thus reproaches and words of abuse continually alternated with the old cries of lament. Everyone present regarded this as justifiable for every speaker and approvingly confirmed his words.

Until that time I had never had an opportunity to observe how vehemently the expression of their deeply rooted faith in their god breaks out from the depths of their soul, and with what unrestrained force it seeks expression. Truly their religious faith is firmly anchored in their convictions and in their hearts! Here it became plain that all the adults are dominated by it. I shall now mention a touching feature of their childlike religious sense. In their greatest agitation they feel justified in freely hurling the bitterest reproaches against Watayinéiwa. After the yamalaŝemóina is over, however, and everyone has again sought the quiet of his own hut and by late evening has regained his mental balance, he feels deep within himself something like qualms of conscience. He is overcome with the feeling that he has offended the Supreme Being with his raging and scolding and that he has erred greatly with respect to the veneration due the deity. Ruefully he humbles himself, silently he thinks about the events of the day and his momentary position. A repentant and yet confident prayer of atonement softly slips from his trembling lips: "Hidáhuan, you know it, today I was extremely angry with you! But the sorrow for my beloved dead was so violent that I lost control of myself. Don't be angry with me any longer, /1133/ Hidáhuan!" Solaced and with his soul fully at ease, the Fuegian lies down to sleep; the supreme emotion which for hours shook his innermost being is past.

765 152 I shall add here a few words which I noted during the yamalaŝemóina. Often several persons were saying different things at the same time and I could not follow them.

Santiago: "This morning that woman died. Each of us is in a wretched state, no one feels well. I once suffered the same fate as that widower who now has no wife. I personally felt what